

The Right Reverend
Doctor *JOHN COSIN*,
Late LORD BISHOP of
DURHAM,

HIS OPINION (when Dean of
Peterburgh, and in Exile) for Com-
municating rather with
GENEVA than *ROME*.

A L S O

What slender Authority, if any, the *Eng-
lish* Psalms, in Rhime and Metre,
have ever had for the publick use they
have obtained in our Churches: Free-
ly rendred in two Letters, with Anno-
tations on the said Letters.

A N D

A short Historical Deduction inserted, of the
Original Design, and Sacrilegious Progress,
of Metrical Psalms, in Vulgar Languages,
through many parts of *France*, *Flanders*, &c.

By *Ri. WATSON*, D. D.

Recommended for his own Vindication,
in an Apologetical Letter to his Friend.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *F. Leach* for *Nich. Woolfe*, at the *Se-
ven Stars* in *Newgate-street*. MDC LXXXIV.

For my very Loving Friend ,
Mr. *Watson* , at the Princes
Court, in *Jersey*.

S I R,

T H E Letter that Major Fon-
tane brought from you was
very welcome to me ; the ra-
ther for that I had inquir'd after
you of many, and could never hear
of you before, since the dispersion
at Bristol ; for though I find your
Name now in the review of one of
Dr. Clare's Letters, yet, when I
read that Letter, at first I took it
to have been Dr. *VVadson* ; from
whom I had (not long since) recei-
ved a Letter out of the West ; but
I am glad it is you, and that you

A 2

have

have (a) so fair a subsistence for
 the present, under so
 * The Lord Hopron. good a * Lord : What
 will become of us all for the future,
 our Lord above knows ; to whose
 Providence and Goodness we must
 recommend our selves.

You say right, Our Church is as much
 misunderstood and misconstrued here
 abroad, as it is misused and maligned
 at home ; and I have had experience
 enough of both: The truth is, they are
 here so exceeding uncharitable, and
 somewhat worse, that I know not
 how any man (who understands him-
 self, and makes a Conscience of
 what he does) can enter into any
 Communion with them (b) in those
 Doctrines and Practices which they
 hold necessary to Salvation ; and
 wherein they make their essential
 note of difference, their Religion,
 and

and their Church, to consist. And, that I may answer your demand in brief (for they say you are all to come hither) it is far less safe to joyn with these men, that (c) alter the Credenda, the Vitals of Religion, than with those that meddle only with the Agenda and Rules of Religion, (d) if they meddle no farther ; and where it is not in our power to help it , there is no doubt, but in these things (e) God will accept the Will for the Deed , if that will (without our assent, or approbation to the contrary) be preserved entire ; though, in the meanwhile, we suffer a little for it, oppression must not make us leave our own Church. They of Geneva are to blame in (f) many things , and defective in some ; (g) they shall never have my approbation of their
A 3 doings,

doings, nor let 'um have yours ;
 (h) yet I do not see that they have
 set up any new Articles of Faith,
 under pain of Damnation to all the
 World that will not receive them for
 such Articles , and (i) you know
 whose case that is ; Cætera cum
 veneris, or (if you come not) in
 other Letters, as you shall offer me
 occasion. In the mean while I will
 be glad to hear of (h) your resolution
 still to be constant in the mainte-
 nance of the Ancient Catholick
 Faith and Government of the Church
 of Christ , which the Church of
 England hath profess'd and taught
 us, though now there be a Cloud
 and Storm upon it, as upon what
 Church hath there not been, more or
 less in the several Ages of the World?

If you know of any thing fit for
 me to hear concerning our old
 Friends

*Friends in England, you will do
me a favour to impart it to*

Your assured Loving Friend,

St. Germ. Jun.
19. 1646.

J. C.

S I R,

AS I expose his Reverence's Letters to publick view, so I submit my Annotations on them to your favourable censure, which are as follow.

Annotations.

(a) **A**fter Sequestration of his Estate, a vast debt incurr'd for advancement of the Kings Interest, the sale of most he had, in any sort of value, even to his Plate and Coach-Horses; and the Rebels plunder of what he had left, at *Torrington*, our Noble Lord had no fair means of subsistence for himself, much less wherewith to exercise his liberality toward the Chaplain and few Servants he had then attending on him, whom, yet notwithstanding their loss of all like
A 4 wise.

wise at *Torrington*, Divine Providence preserved them, and many years after, in their state of exile, and carried them mercifully through all the difficulties incident thereunto.

(*b*) If we return to them in those Doctrines and Practices, whatsoever they are, wherein we may, (which I will not presume to enumerate) and moderate our selves, in some measure, as to the rest, by the meek *Cassandrian*, and *Grotian* Spirit of a mutual charitable inclination toward an amicable reunion, though they continue to exclude us their Communion, for not subscribing to those new Doctrines and Articles, we, so far, shall lay the Schism at their doors, and may rest satisfied in our persevering Members of that Primitive, and once Catholick Church, which hath prescribed an excellent Canon of Belief and Practice, unto us both,

(*c*) For what we suppose they have altered in the old *Credenda*, let us be so exact as we fairly may be, yet not over-nicely Critical, lest we become uncharitable; nor so fond of our own opinions, as not to hearken unto the pacific language of the learned *Grotius*, and other

other eminent persons of his temper; a List of whose Names he hath publish'd, and whom he directs us to; their search and intimacy having, perhaps, discovered a better meaning than we, at more distance, can apply to the Letter of their Profession.

(d) As I fear they do (though not under the *Anathema* of Damnation, denounced against Dissenters) if a strict scrutiny were made into the genuine sense of these Confessions, with other Books and Writings generally owned by them. Beside, that they meddle with the *Agenda* and Rites of Religion, without any justifiable Call, or Commission; for which reason alone (were there no other) we ought not to join with them in their Publick Worship, or Communion.

(e) Then God may, I doubt not, accept the Will for the Deed, although we decline Communion, or Religious Compliance with either party, from both whom we differ, and at many their Doctrines, or Practices, we justly scruple; wherein I might well have satisfied myself, if I had been so well acquainted then, as afterward, with the learned *Grotius's* opinion *de Christiano Segrege*,
who

who himself, if he dyed in that state (as many, that mean thereby to reproach him, would have believed) departed, I make no question, a good Member of the Catholick Church; and so, I hope, many of us lived, when, in our state of Exile, wheresoever we found no Oratories of our own, we asked admission neither into the Churches of the *Roman Catholics*, nor the Temples, or Meeting-places, of the Lay-reformed *Calvinists*, (for Ecclesiasticks I dare not acknowledge those whom they pretend to make such.)

(f) In too many of either; whether we take them for *Agenda* or *Credenda*.

(g) Mine they never had, but wherein they had the Deans likewise, until, it seems, he chang'd his mind, and departed from his *æquilibrium* of Indifference, by making one Scale overmuch to preponderate the other.

(h) But I know too much, and am satisfied from others who know them better; that if we join not with them in their Articles of opinion, (many of which they adhere to no less than those of the *Christian Creed*) no better Character shall we have from them, than as
Limbs

Limbs of *Antichrist* ; and consequently of being in the same state of Damnation with him or his.

(i) Many of them in their Writings and Discourses, when not too much provoked, appear more moderate (at least in their manner of expression, whatsoever may be in their thoughts) and ought, in Charity, to be exempted from the rigour of so severe a Sentence.

(k) That resolution was sent his Reverence, though I cannot say in the same hard terms ; and I hope I shall not recede from it, until convinced by stronger Arguments than I heard abroad, or since, at home.

Ano-

Another Letter from his Reverence.

For my very good and worthy Friend, Mr. *Richard Watson*, Chaplain to my Lord *Hopton*, at *Jersey*.

S I R,

I must ask your Pardon, that you hear no oftner from me by my own hand (for by others, if they do me right, you have my frequent Remembrances) assuring you, that you are one of those Friends, upon whom I have placed a most affectionate regard ; but the more I affect you, the greater desires I have (a) that you would not entertain the least thought of starting from that profession of Religion, wherein you were so well practis'd
at

at home, though it be disgraced and persecuted there never so much. The time hath been wherein good Orthodox Christians have suffered more than we do, and continued firm and constant in their way : Nor do I see any better way to recover our station again than this ; however, (c) let it never be said, that to revenge our selves upon one Enemy we have any mind to comply with another , you know whom I mean, an Enemy as bad, if not worse than those that are at home.

I would you held the same course at Jersey, and had the same toleration there that we have at our Court, where we omit nothing that we were wont to practise in England; and are so far from leaving off the Surplice at Service, that we never Preach any Sermon without it : And in these our
Ser-

Sermons(e)*they of the Geneva fasbi-*
on hear of us as well, and as often, as
they of the Italian. I know not why
Mr. Gatford should speak so ill of
Doct̃or Martin, and so well of me,
for truly (f) *I know no difference*
between Dr. Martin and my self,
but that we agree in all things.
That I should declare Mr. Gatford
for a pattern of Legal Conformity to
all England (unless it were upon
his profession, that he would ob-
serve all things, which the (g) *Go-*
vernours of our Church legally com-
manded) I hope you do not believe,
more than I, nor (h) *that I had any*
hand in offering him the Mastership
of Jesus Colledge, when Doct̃or
Sterne was placed there, for at that
time I was 200 miles off, and had
no thought of residing in the Uni-
versity, whither I was called by the
Kings

Kings command about half a year after.

The Singing Psalms are not adjoined to our Bibles, or to our Liturgy, by any other Authority than what the Company of Stationers, for their own gain, have procured, either by their own (i) private Ordinances among themselves, or by some (k) order from the Privy Council in Queen Elizabeth's time, Authority of the Convocation, or of Parliament (such as our Liturgy had) (l) never had they any, only the Queen, by her Letters Patent to the Stationers, gave leave to have them Printed, and (m) allowed them (did not command them) to be Sung in Churches, or Private Houses by the People. When the Liturgy was set forth, and commanded to be used, these Psalms were not half of them
com-

composed : No Bishop ever enquired of their observance, nor did ever any Judge, at an Assize, deliver them in his Charge, which both the one and other had been bound to do, if they had been set forth by the same Authority which the Liturgy was : Besides, you may observe, that they are never Printed with the Liturgy, or Bible, nor ever were, but only bound up, as the Stationers please, together with it ; other whiles, that, by this means, their Psalms might vent the better, and they get the more gain. I know not what they talk of Scandalizing weak Consciences, but I am as sure as you are, that many passages in those Psalms have been scandalous enough. These things (when you have just occasion) you may assert for truth, but you need not quote any other Author than your self,

self, and every mans knowledge that hath not given up the Ghost to the Geneva platforms. Of Mr. Crashaw, &c. I know too much, but I am more glad to hear you say, that you have no thought of following their ungracious and fond fancies. God ever preserve you and me in our old way of Truth; from which no Persecution shall ever drive us, as is the confidence and Prayer for the continuance of that resolution of

Your most affectionate Friend.

Annotations.

(a) **A** Proposal in a private Letter, to be resolved in a case of Conscience, implied no such *irresolved* thought; nor could by any fair interpretation, move a jealousy of *starting* from that profession of Religion, &c. so that I wish the fervour of Mr. Dean's desires had

B

not

not passed so earnestly into forced fears, for which no occasion at all was given, and the perpetual experience of so many years since hath render'd hitherto altogether frustrate.

(b) I do not remember, in the Ecclesiastic History, I have read any number of Orthodox *Christians*, chased out of their own Countrey, at loss for a safe Communion in some one or other elsewhere: It was foreseen, that would prove our special difficulty or misfortune, else the question had not been put.

(c) Nor let it be said, we can find no other way to decline the *Papists*, than by turning *Puritans*, or *Presbyterians*.

(d) We might have held it, but for unnecessary jealousies of giving offence to them that were never pleased with the practice of our Canon, in some particulars beside the Surplice, which the *French Islanders* used not.

(e) That was indifferently well, so long as it held.

(f) *O quam bonum & jucundum, &c.* I wish *D. Martin* had not found just cause, since then to think and write otherwise, for our Churches sake.

(g) He

(g) He had, if I and many others mistook him not, a more awful eye for some Governours in the University, than for the most Orthodox of our Church. He was facile enough to make profession, but, within my knowledge, not so firm in his performance. By fits his confidence was such, as, where advantageous, to croud himself into the number of the most exact Conformists; yet he had the justice done him, never to be taken for one, through-pac'd, or principled: His Sermon is not yet forgot, which, in a critical time, he preached at St. Mary's Cambr. upon 1 Kings 18. 21. *And Elijah came unto all the people, and said, How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him.* And this he did with so warm a Zeal, though not so pure a Spirit, as that of *Elijah*, nor so upright a mind: He halted not, indeed, as was plain enough through his whole discourse; but his bent or bia's leaned altogether toward the wrong side.

(h) He could not have made his story credible, without using the Dean's name, or some others of like good note.

(i) The authority of their private Ordinances signifie little toward the publick practice of the Church.

(k) If any such order be, why appears it not, so far, to justifie what authority can be pretended for 'em.

(l) Nor ever shall have, I hope, until their sense and language be better rectified and refined.

(m) Permitted rather than allowed, says the Reverend Dr. *Heylyn*; For though it be expressed in the Title of those Singing *Psalms*, that they were *Set forth, and allowed to be Sung in all Churches, before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, and also before and after Sermons*; yet this allowance seems rather to have been a Conivance than an Approbation; no such Allowance being any where found, by such as have been most industrious, and concerned in the search thereof; -----in some tract of time, as the *Puritan* Faction grew in strength and confidence, they prevailed so far in most places, as to thrust the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc dimittis*, quite out of the Church. See *Hist. of Ed.* 6. Further yet, They came to be esteemed the most Divine part of Gods publick Service; the
Read-

Reading *Psalms*, together with the first and second Lessons, being heard in many places with a covered Head ; but all men sitting bare-headed, when the *Psalms* was Sung. And to that end the Parish Clerk must be taught to call upon the people, to sing it to the *Praise and Glory of God*, no such preparatory Exhortation being used at the naming of the Chapters, or the daily *Psalms*. See *Hist. of the Presbyterians*.

The Deduction.

S I R,
THE Original of this Device was not in *England*, but first taken up by one *Clement Marot*, a Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the *French King, Francis the first*; a witty man, that had a natural Vein of facile Poesie in that Language; wherewith he diverted that King often, who was much delighted with him, until by conversing with the *Lutherans*, he had got a tincture of their good Fellowship, and Religion too; an intimation whereof being made

to the King, he was fain to fly the Court, and betake himself to the protection of Q. Margaret de Valois, the Kings Sister, (*vetus reorum asylum*; says F. Strada) until the Kings indignation should be appeased, as after a while it was; which encouraged him to return to Paris, where he was prevailed with by Fr. Vatablus, Professor of the Hebrew Tongue, to relinquish his trifling Doggrel; and betake himself to a more serious and solemn task, of turning *David's Psalms* into French Metre, as he did the first fifty, but so unskilfully and perversly, as being a person utterly illiterate (setting his Rhiming vein aside) *disciplinarum homo omnium apprimè rudis*, (Strada) that, though the King sung them, as he had done his former Ballads, now and then; upon just complaints made to his Majesty by the Doctors of the Sorbone, an Edict was made, That nothing of *Morots* composition should be published ever after: Yet so fond were the common people of this novelty (and the more, perhaps, because forbid) that, new Tunes being set to 'em, sing 'em they would; and so well was he pleased with their applause, that by his folly and licentious language, he be-

betrayed the safety he had recovered, and took his flight to *Geneva*, where well acquainted he became with *Beza*; yet not so, as to be protected by him against Publick Justice, which, for some Crimes he had there committed, whipt him out of the Town, and sent him away to seek sanctuary somewhere else: But in tract of time, so much kindness had *Theodore Beza* for the repute of his old acquaintance, as he finished the imperfect work, by Translating into better Rhime and Sense the other hundred *Psalms*, and honouring his deceased Friend with an Elegy in *French* metre: I am to add, that with such allecation they were Tuned by the Musick-masters, whom *Beza* selected for that employment, as they bewicht the multitude, and won the good liking of others, that had more refined Ears, and nicer Fancies, so as they became the *Sirens*, and *Tarantulus*, of Sea and Land; all people, that were not wise enough to foresee the mischief they were to produce, and honest enough to have no hand in it, being invited to join in consort and measure, which way so'e're they turned themselves, or with whom soever they conversed; *in costibus, in tri-*

viis, in officinis; in Temples, in the Tradesmens Shops, in the Travellers Roads and Walks, in all the crooked and by-ways of the *French-Reformed*.

Now had all this been done in a devout zeal, though with a mixture of some superstition, it would not have been so blame-worthy; but when, afterward, it proved a prime incentive to Rebellion, and the *New Psalter* (so they called it) lifted up as an Ensign for all the Profane, Sacrilegious wretches to assemble at, and march after; the true intent was then discovered; and, by frequent instances, was manifested, in all parts of *Europe*, where it got entrance, that this soft Musick wrought worse effects than the Warlike Drum, or loudest Trumpet of Sedition. One or two instances of which mischievous and profane abuse I could here insert; but because I find Monsieur *Maimbourg* somewhat more particular than *Fam Strada*, as to what concerns *Cl. Marot*. and not accordant in all circumstances; that I may not seem to espouse the cause, as by one related, to some prejudice of the other, I will select a few passages I have observed in the latter Writer of the two, and be more im-

partial

-partial unto both, than, perhaps, either
of them have been to the Poetaster *Marot*.

-²⁰ That he was born in *Aquitain*, I think,
both agree; in *Diveana Cadurcorum*, says
the one; *Narrif de Cahors*, the others.

²¹ That, having lived too much a Liber-
tine, and thereby become obnoxious to
the censure, &c. of those in the *Roman*
²² Church, he betook himself to the Re-
formed party, against whom the King,
his Master, having published very severe
Edicts, and declared his resolution, not
to spare any person that should desert the
Religion himself professed: *Marot*, fear-
ing an arrest, retired, and lived at *Bearne*;
and after some time went farther off, be-
yond the *Alpes*, to *Ferrare*, applying
himself to the Dutchess *Renee*, who used
to take into protection all the Protestants
that fled to her, as she did him; and not
only so, but obtained his Pardon and
Peace from the King; and prevailed for
his return to Court, engaging her Word
and Honour for his good behaviour; in
respect whereunto, especially, it was,
that he complied so readily with the coun-
sel of the learned *Vatablus*, for turning
the *Psalms* into Metre, which the said
Professor first interpreted for him out of
the

the *Hebrew* into *Prosaic French*; notwithstanding which preparatory assistance, both translation, and paraphrasticall explanation, so dull was he of apprehension, as he is reported to have committed many foul faults; two of which sort they take particular notice of, in the very first *Psalms* he entered on, which, if *Vatablus* had called his Scholar to account for the task he had put upon him, methinks might have been amended before they came out in Print, though the Majestick style of the Prophet himself, it was not expected, he should keep up, much less improve to that height, which ascendant Poetry is wont to do, and their more learned Paraphrast, Bishop *Godeau*, perhaps, some his admirers think, has effected.

This first essay at *Paris* ended with the thirtieth *Psalms*, the Doctors in Theology there remonstrating to the King, that nothing could be more dangerous than *Marot's* Version of the *Psalms* (*cette infidelle traduction*, as they styled it) for which, and somewhat else, they pretended to have discovered of him, he made another escape to *Geneva*, where his old friend Mr. *Calvin*, says the *Sieur Maimbourg*,

burgh, encouraged him, notwithstanding,
 to adventure at twenty more, as he did,
 with no better success than the former;
 yet what they wonder at: somewhat
 more is, that while he was so well em-
 ployed upon so divine a subject, his course
 of life was not more reformed, than to
 relapse there into such a hainous crime,
 as for which Sentence of Death passed up-
 on him by the publick Magistrate; and
 had been executed, if *Calvin's* interest
 had not commuted it with the publick
 lash about the *Carfours*: After which scan-
 dal, and disgrace, he fled toward the
Alpes, and kept close in *Piemont*, and
 there died a *Huguenot*, about the sixtieth
 year of his age. But this goes upon the
Sieur Maimbourg's credit; for, it's con-
 fessed, I have not met with it in any of
 the Reformed Writers I have had in hand.
 The other hundred *Psalms*, he agrees
 with *Strada*, were versified by *Beza*;
 and, when finished, bound up with the
Geneva Bible, and otherwhile with *Cal-
 vin's Catechism*, the better to disperse
 them, with their Reformation, about the
 Countreys, and sweetly to propagate
 their Rebellion by 'em. Their first exer-
 cise of this new harmony was in and
 about

about *Paris*, where people most frequented for a pleasant walk ; which the *Roman Catholicks* took for a high affront, no less to be *Sung* than *Beaten* out of their *Promenade* ; inſomuch as the *Parifians*, that were zealous the other way, reſolved to Arm, and to aſſault them in a fit of fury, but that the care and courage of their Magiſtrate prevented, by allaying the tumult, and imprifoning two obſerved the moſt earneſt to chant their *Pſalms* in this Seditious manner. But this, alas, was nothing to what followed in greater numbers ; Not to mention the fray ſeven or eight hundred of them made in *Kaſſy*, where the Duke of *Guiſe*, travelling one *Sunday*, Anno 1562. made a little ſtay on purpoſe to hear Maſs ; at which time the foreſaid number being met in a Grange (as rendered) adjoining to the Church, where his Highneſs was on his knees ; they having ſome notice of it, elevated their voices to ſuch a height, in chanting *Mari's Pſalms*, as diſturbed the Prince at his Devotion ; whereupon two or three of his Officers but deſiring them to forbear a while, or at leaſt to ſing ſomewhat lower, they, inſtead thereof, raiſed their note to a louder Tune, made a fierce ſally out on his

his company, which were not more than a fourth part of themselves, yet with drawn Swords in their hands offered to encounter 'em, but it came to throwing of Stones at last ; with one of which, the Duke himself, who was fain to quit his Church, receiving a shrewd blow on his Jaw, became all bloody ; which incensed his followers so, as they made use of their Weapons, and some few were killed, nothing like what could, in reason, merit the odious character of a Massacre, though not other than such by the *Huguenots* was it reported at Court, and accordingly complaint made of it to the King of *Navarre*, as a manifest infraction of his late Edict for Pacification ; which was otherwise resented by him, as appeared by the check he gave to *Mezeray*, *cet insolent Ministre*, as he called him, not liking what he had misrepresented of this affair.

More inexcusable was the greater tumult at *Valenciennes*, the chief City of *Haynalt* ; and *Tournay* the chief City of *Flanders Gallicant* ; where the *Calvinists* began to try their fortune in those Provinces, which lay next to *France* : In the first of which, the Preacher having finished in the Market-place, where he made
his

his Sermon, was followed in the Streets by no fewer than one hundred people; but, in the other by a train of six hundred, or thereabouts, all of them singing *Dauids Psalms* of *Marot's* Translation, according to the custome of the *Hugonots* amongst the *French*. Some tumults hereupon ensued in either City, for the repressing whereof, *Florence* of *Momorancy*, Lord of *Montigny*, being the Governour of that Province, rides in post to *Tournay*, hangs up the Preacher, seizeth on all such Books as were thought Heretical, and thereby put an end to the present Sedition. But when the Marquess of *Bergen* was required to do the like at *Valenciennes*, he told the Governess, in plain terms, that it was neither agreeable to his place, or nature to put an Heretick to death, (which had been a good Christian answer, if the Rioters had not been more Rebels, than Hereticks, and Fellons certainly, because Sacrilegious robbers, here in *Purpose*, as elsewhere, divers parties of them in *Fact*, which occur in the Histories of both Countries; for these tumultuous waves were rolling directly toward the *Dominican* Cloyster, which the Rebels had in design to sack, and then set in flames. But, changing



changing their mind on a sudden, they diverted toward the Prison, being increased then to the number of two thousand, forced the Gates, and set at liberty two of their company, whom the publick Magistrate had seized on and clapt up there; sending him a modest message, (if you will so take it, and not rather for a jeer or scorn) that they had not acted, nor intended more: But, at some months distance afterward, they paid their due to Justice, one of the two rescued Prisoners, who was retaken, and divers others who either were, or boasted themselves, as if they had been, principals in the tumult, — *qui tumultum aut animosius fecerant, aut jactantius sibi vendicaverant*, are Strada's words, somewhat more particular than what I borrowed before from our own Historian; who yet addeth hereunto (what seems likewise to be taken from him) Those of *Valenciennes* had refused to admit a Garrison, encouraged by their *French* Preachers to that disobedience, but being besieged by *Norcarinus*, Deputy-Governour of *Haynalt* for the Marquess of *Bergen*, they were compelled, in the end, to submit to mercy, which was so intermixed with Justice, that thirty-six of the

Incen-

Incendiaries were beheaded, some of their Preachers hanged, and some Souldiers executed; the Liberties of the City being seized, and declared to be forfeit, till the King should be pleased to restore them. If I would yet enlarge upon the rebellious attempts, and outrages, which the *French* and *Flemish Calvinists* daily multiplied, and prosecuted with ungovern'd zeal (if not rather fanatick fury) I could transcribe Volumn, and be no more a plagiary than they that have writ before me, (for History is not to be invented, but taken upon trust by us that are at distance from the transactions of it) but I will chuse to remit you, Sir, unto the triumvirate I have had occasion to cite hither more than once, and borrow the conclusion only of a more doleful Tragedy, acted by them at *Antwerp*, the chief City of *Brabant*, where after some calmer Scenes, or little essays made of their following mischief, being become not only more numerous, but better armed, they marched confusedly, not in Rank and File, to the chief Church of that City, at the Evening Service; which ended, they compel the people to forsake the place, and possess themselves of it; having made fast the doors, for fear

fear that some disturbance might break in upon them, one of them begins to sing a *Psalm* in *Marots* Metre, wherein he is followed by the rest; that such a holy exercise as they were resolved on, might not be undertook without some preparation; which fit of Devotion, or Profanation rather, being over, they fell to work; first they pulled down a massy Image of the Virgin, and such other Saints as they found advanced there, on their several Pedestals, offering many indignities to those representatives, and the others Painted on Walls or Windows, beside many unhandsome usages of what the *Roman* Catholicks account most Sacred, demolishing all they could: And this they did with such dispatch, so easily and pleasantly goes off a hand the hardest work, (when facilitated by the tune of a *Psalm*, select, and apposite, as, no doubt, it was) that one of the fairest Churches in *Europe*, richly adorned with Statues and Massie Images of Brass and Marble, and having in it no fewer than seventy Altars, was, in the space of four hours, defaced so miserably that there was nothing to be seen in it of the former beauties: Proud of which fortunate success (so my Author

continues) they brake into all other Churches of that City, where they acted over the same spoils, and outrageous insolencies; and afterwards forcing open the doors of Monasteries and Religious Houses, they carried away all their Consecrated Furniture, entred Store-houses, seized on their Meat, and drank off their Wine; and took from them all their Money, Plate, and Wardrobes, both Sacred and Civil, not sparing any publick Library, wheresoever they came: A ruine not to be repaired but with infinite summs; the havock which they made in the great Church only, being valued at four hundred thousand Ducats, by indifferent rates; whereunto is added, That the like outrages they committed at the same time in *Gaunt* and *Oudenard*, and all the Villages about them: That, in the Province of *Flanders* only, no fewer than four hundred consecrated places were, in the space of ten days, thus defaced, and some of them burnt down to the ground. A blessed Character, among thousands more, of *Presbytery* and *Geneva* Jiggs, as some slightly call them.

All which makes me, not a little, to admire the fond and facile connivance of
our

our Reforming Ancestors, in or about the sixth year of K. *Ed.* 6. and afterward, in the Reign of the glorious Q. *Eliz.* that is, at the entrance, and intermediate continuance, of a like, or, in good truth, a far worse translation, a meer Rhiming Paraphrase, into, and in, the Churches they were then planting, or purging from all Superstition and Profanation, having so fresh and so notorious a Precedent before their Eyes of what had been wrought, by the same model, in foreign Countreys: Of which I can conceive no better reason, (if I may be licensed to render any) than, for the first, a little inclinations, the Protector, and some in Council, had to the *Geneva*-Platform, so soon as *Calvin* had put in his Finger, and offered the further assistance of his Head (and Heart too) toward perfecting the work they were about. And, for the latter, some little politick compliance (so much as is signified) with them whom the Queen supported by Men and Money, to prevent, perhaps, the overgrowing of either Monarchy, though to the no small hazard of ruining her own, in this Century (as may be apprehended) from Divine Justice; that in a season,

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which

which we may not understand as such, will vindicate the general right of Kings to the exact obedience of their Subjects, by some particular judgement on their Persons or Successors, who have acted ought toward the diminution of it, within the third or fourth generation, after their decease.

By whom this *English* Paraphrase of the *Psalms* was made, and how advanced to so favourable a reception, not only among the vulgar (who pleasing themselves with the Tune, had little regard to the sense of what they sung) but among many the great, the wise, and truly intelligent of our Nation, may be worth enquiry, to the explication, or further illustration of that clause in the Deans Letter, which put me upon the Discourse.

The two principal we have, expressly named, in the Printed Title Page before the Book, *Thomas Sternhold* and *John Hopkins*; the former, Groom of the Privy Chamber, who is said to have translated only thirty seven of the *Psalms*; the latter, one of those who fled *England*, and resided at *Geneva* in *Q. Maries* days; to whom, I think, we are to attribute the

the Translation of so many (and no more) as have *J. H.* the Capital Letters of his Name, prefixed to 'em ; the first of which (as I turn 'em over) appears to be the 24, where a break is to the 27, and thence again to the 30; giving way to *T. S.* whom I take to be *Sternhold*, *Psf.* 32. and so likewise at *Psf.* 34. *Psal.* 23. is entitled to *W. W.* a more obscure person than the former ; who comes in again at *Psal.* 37. so that *Psalms*, at least, is not to pass upon *Sternholds* account, but some other for it : Thence *J. H.* fallies, or skips, to *Psal.* 50. And afterward steps in a greater stranger with half a name, under a single Letter *N.* *Psal.* 101. 102. as alike does *M.* a no less uncertain *quidam Psal.* 131. So that if we will bring the whole number, parcelled among the several Capitals, and own 'em to be distinct composers, as they would be thought, the portions allotted to each are these ; viz.

To *T. S.* *Psal.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. and 23. as posted after *W. W.* who has the preference of the two Paraphrasts, 25. 26. 28. 29. 32. 33. 34. 41. 43. 44. 53. 63. 66. 68, 73. 103. 120. 123. 128.

C 3

To

To *J. H.* *Psal.* 24. 27. 30. 31. 35. 36.
 38. 39. 40. 42. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50.
 Set after one entitled to *W. W.* as in like
 manner is *Psal.* 51. 52. 54. 55. 56. 57.
 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 64. 65. 67. 69. 70.
 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80.
 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91.
 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. with
 another on the same, to shew the variety
 of his fancy, 108. 146. 148.

To *T. N.* are attributed *Psal.* 101. 102.
 105. 106. 109. 110. 111. 115. 116. 117.
 118. 129. 135. 136. 138. 139. 140. 141.
 142. 143. 144. 145. 147. 149. 150.

To *W. W.* *Psal.* 23. 27. 50. 51. 114. 119.
 121. 124. 126. 127. 130. 133. 134. 137.

To *W. K.* *Psal.* 104. 107. 112. 113. 122.
 125.

To *M.* *Psal.* 131. 132.

To *R. W.* *Psal.* 125. as a second to
W. K.

To *T. C.* *Psal.* 136. as a second to *N.*

Before their Book of *Psalms* are placed
 other pieces of their Poetry, or paraphra-
 stical excellency, viz.

1. *Veni Creator*, beginning in *English*
 thus; *Come holy Ghost, eternal God.*

2. *The humble suit of a Sinner*; begin.
O Lord of whom I do depend.

3. *Ve-*

3. *Venite exultemus.* Psal. 95. begin.
O come and let us now rejoyce.

4. *The Song of S. Ambrose, called Te Deum,* begin. *We praise thee, God, we knowledge thee.*

5. *The Song of the three Children ;* begin. *O all the works of God the Lord.*

6. *The Song of Zecharias, called Benedictus ;* begin. *The only Lord of Israel.*

7. *The Song of the Blessed Mary, called Magnificat ;* begin. *My Soul doth magnifie the Lord.*

8. *The Song of Simeon, called Nunc Dimittis ;* begin. *O Lord, because my heart's desire.*

9. *The Symbole, or Creed, of Athanasius ;* begin. *What man saever he be.*

10. *The Lamentation of a Sinner ;* begin. *O Lord, turn not away thy face.*

The Lords Prayer, or Pater-Noster ; begin. *Our Father which in Heaven art.*

12. *The ten Commandments.* *Audi Israel.* *Exod 20,* begin. *Heark Israel, and what I say.*

13. *The Complaint of a Sinner ;* begin. *Where righteousness doth say.*

None of these have any Authors name, or Capital Letters for it, prefixed, except the second alone, which has *M.* the same

person, in likelihood, that translated two of the *Psalms*.

After their Book of *Psalms*, Sir, we find another Set of their *Apocryphal Poetry*, which hath,

1. *A Song to be Sung before Morning Prayer: T. B. beginning, Praise ye the Lord, ye Gentiles all.*

2. *A Song to be Sung before Evening Prayer; begin. Behold now give heed, such as he.*

3. *The ten Commandments of God. Exod. 20. begin. Attend my people and give ear, by W. W.*

4. *The Lords Prayer. D. Cox. begin. Our Father which in Heaven art.*

5. *The twelve Articles of the Christian Faith; begin. All my belief and confidence.*

6. *A Prayer to the Holy Ghost, to be sung before the Sermon; begin. Come holy Spirit the God of might.*

7. *Da pacem, Domine; begin. Give peace in these our days, O Lord.*

8. *The Lamentation; begin. O Lord in thee is all my trust.*

9. *A Thanksgiving after the receiving of the Lords Supper; begin. The Lord be thanked for his gifts.*

10. A

10. *A Conclusive Song*, entitled to *R.W.* begin. *Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word.*

Perhaps some of the foresaid Letters beside *R. S.* and *J. H.* might be deciphered into names, if an exact List were made of those Divines, &c. that, upon the change of Religion, after *K. Edward's* death, either went directly hence, or in the troubles at *Strasburgh* and *Frankfort*, departed thence for *Geneva*. I intend not to search so narrowly into the reports we have from either place; nor will engage my self in a bare conjecture at what the Reverend Dr. *Heylyn*, and other alike sagacious Writers have either not discovered, or thought not worth communicating; but my opinion, in general, I declare, is this; That the whole Bundle, or Body, of these their *Psalms*, *Songs*, &c. by whomsoever composed, or paraphrased, had the approbation of the whole *Classis* of our *English*, there assembled, in conjunction with some *Scotch* and *French*, whom they called in, or consulted; and for ought we can be assured of, by no other than the same *Classis* or *Colloquy* were they allowed to the publick purposes, pretended by the Printer in
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his Title-page, which being no less authentick than that which had their Translation of the Bible, or the *Genevian* Notes upon it, passes currantly enough with the hereditary Tribe of our Sectaries ; That Translation which King *James* judged to be the worst that he had ever seen in the *English* Tongue ; Those Notes upon the same, which his Majesty told us, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, are *partial, untrue, seditious, and favouring too much of dangerous and trayterous conceits* : Those notes which yet I heard boldly pleaded for at the Tryal of the Most Reverend Archbishop *Laud*, who, so well as I remember, guarded himself by the Sentence of that Learned King, though no Deference at all was made, or owned due unto it by their Lawyers ; but that I have nothing to do with here, other-wise than as the authority of those Notes, and these *Psalms*, whether by allowance or connivance, seems to be much alike, and either thereby justified so much as comes to nothing; but both alike to be condemned for the abuse : The acephalike Songs, that have not any single Letter at all to entitle them, being taken in with those that have, as supplemental to 'em, and brought

brought over with 'em from *Geneva* : For I cannot suppose any one individual person would be so bold, without countenance of a packt Society, or Assembly, to impose upon a National Church, *what* Metrical *Psalms* shall be Sung, and *when*, to the discharging those Sacred and Canonical Hymns in Prose, before appointed, by express publick order, to be *Said*, or *Sung*, being set to more solemn Tunes as practis'd in our Cathedrals, such as will carry up any truly devout Soul, in holy raptures, or fix it in holy ecstasies, much sooner than the effeminate notes (as *Strada* calls 'em) of *Marot*, or the flatter Symphony made of *Sternhold*, *Hopkins*, and the rest, by our Fanatick people. To which purpose, (I mean, to infringing the rule of our Church, set in her Rubricks) was not only our *Introit*, or 95 *Psalms*, slightly Paraphrased, but, as before-mentioned, the Song of S. *Ambrose*, called *Te Deum*, which, in Prose, should be *Said*, or *Sung*, after the first Lesson at Morning Prayer ; or, at choice, then, the Song of the three Children ; The Song of *Zacharias*, called *Benedictus*, after the Morning-Second Lesson ; The Song of Blessed *Mary*, called

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led *Magnificat*, after the First, and the Song of *Simeon*, called *Nunc dimittis*, after the Second, at Evening Prayer; The other two then, alike permitted to choice, *Cantate Domino*, and *Deus misereatur*, being the 98 and 67 *Psalms* they had translated among the rest. A Prayer to the Holy Ghost, to be sung, they tell us, before the Sermon; beginning, *Come holy Spirit, the God of might*; what intimates it less than that the descent of the H. Ghost may be no less confidently expected, or asked, upon the Minister at the delivery of his (whether premeditated, or extemporary) Sermon, than as by the Bishop *Said* or *Sung*, the whole Assembly kneeling, by far the more humble posture, at his Ordination. Their Song to be Sung before Morning, and another before Evening Prayer, supposeth the Congregation fully, or, but in part, assembled: If fully, then, it seems, the Church Service must be arrested until the people have solaced themselves with a Song: If not fully, then, most likely, it is intended to find them some employment, rather than they should sit idle; as if a silent and serious meditation were of no use; or as if the people know-

knowing what they are to do first, after their Ministers Exhortation declared to 'em, viz. to say a general Confession after him, might not better be employed in a particular recollection, or mental recapitulation, each one of his personal transgressions, omissions, &c. and to prepare himself to bear a sad; but salutaries part in that general Confession of the whole Congregation. That the *Creeds*, the *Decalogue*, and *Pater-noster*, are likewise versified, and left at large, to be sung at pleasure, does still but aggravate or aggrandize the mischief of their intention; for, though neither of the two latter can well be too far extended, or branched into more particulars than God prescribeth us duties, or is gracious to admit as Petitions put up to him, which may allow some latitude to their invention, (we see it taken in large Paraphrases on the Lords Prayer, and yet larger Expositions on the Ten Commandments;) The object of *Faith* is under as much restraint, so as a little slip in comprehension of the Sense, or in Poetick Licence, creates somewhat, as it were, of a new *Creed*; and, when accurately examined, either affixeth a fundamental

mental error, or gives the lie to him that utters matter of his own invention, instead of divine infusion, not understanding, or not believing, what he in prick-song affirms he does. I enter not into strict Scrutiny of what therein they have done ; but desire any intelligent and indifferent person to take into due consideration the Prose and Metre of *St. Athanasius's* Symbol (if *theirs* in Verse we may call *his*) and then seriously resolve me, Whether he can, with half that vigour and assurance, declare his assent to the one as to the other ; so much abatement being, by the inartificial Version, in the grandeur of style, so much distance in the elevation of affections, from the language of the Saint himself, though translated, and that of the Poet, though slickt in Rhime, enough to vilifie a mans Faith, in his own conceit, and damp his confidence to sing, or say, what is the conclusion of it ; for considerate men will not easily advance so far, as to exclude altogether from Salvation all such as have not faith enough in the fancy of a pitiful and pievish Poet ; we know what scruple, or difficulty, has been made, by
many

many sober persons, at the conclusive Sentence of that *Creed* in Prose, who doing it in no contentious, but a conscientious motive, a dread to denounce Damnation against such as otherwise they esteemed their good *Christian* Brethren ; I shall only blame their diffidence in the tradition of the Church, which ever held it as a most Orthodox and Pious Paraphrase of the Apostles Creed : And I remember very well (with circumstance of time and place) when a learned person consulted this Reverend Dean, “ Whether a man might not safely remit
 “ somewhat of that rigour, and yet not
 “ deviate, culpably, from the common
 “ path others trod in ; or, at least, omit
 “ joining with the Minister in that so
 “ determinate conclusive Sentence : His
 Reverence’s Answer, in good earnest, was to this purpose ; “ He could be no good
 “ *Christian*, nor true Son of the Church
 “ of *England*, that did not *animitus*, and
 “ entirely, assent unto that *Creed*, say
 “ it, or say it not.

You see, Sir, how many essential parts of our Church-Service they have thus entrench’d upon, whereof, if they would have made a continued sequence,
 and

and but inserted, as they use to do; while they take breath, a Chapter or two of their own chusing, to be read by a Lay-Elder, as in the *Calvinian* Churches, their Minister would have found little or nothing for him to do, but to usher in his Sermon with a long-winded Prayer, and so our Liturgy, as they would have it; had been defeated by a meer *Chant*, as in foreign parts they have said our Religion become nothing else but a bare *Preach*.

If hereunto I should add any Observations or Animadversions on the matter of those *Geneva-ditties*, yea, and the *Psalms*, as they have order'd it, a great deal of ignorance and folly, and somewhat worse, would be discovered. In vain therefore do they pretend them, in the Title-page, that they (the *Psalms* I mean) have been conferred with the *Hebrew*, which accord no better with those in our Psalter, nor with the other in the Bishops Bible; and most impudently do they obtrude upon us a publick allowance of them by the Queen, or Government, as must needs be meant, when no such thing could be found, though an argument was held about it, in the High Commission.

Now

Now Sir, if you please, we will parallel their designs, which look so like one another, that of the *Huguenots* in *France* together with the *Calvinists* in other Countreys, and that of our Separatists, or *Puritans*, here in *England*, which will appear, alike, the Setting up of a new Religion, and, in the issue, a new modelling of the State too: Theirs was to confound the Mass, and ours the Mattins, with the Vespers, daily sung on both sides the water. Theirs, to make their Populacy, no less than their Clergy concerned in Divine Offices; ours, to extrude, or out, the conforming Ministry from practising their Canon and Rubrick comfortably; when they observed most of what they were appointed to do anticipated by their *Psalms* and *Songs* in Metre, and so little or nothing left them of their Liturgy duty; and wheresoe're they might have a Nonconforming Ministry of their own, having a better esteem of the open Fields and Barns, to meet in, both for Singing and Preaching too, than of our Churches, or Steeple-houses, as they rather call 'em; experience hereof we have had all along among *Scotch* and *English*; nor would the *Dutch* have done otherwise,

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wise,

wife, if they sought not out better conditions for themselves than could the *French*, and so chang'd the publick face of Religion, and therewith the ancient Government of their Countrey.

The Foreign Protestants, as I have shewed you, made use of *Marot's* and *Beza's Psalms*, to cherish and encourage one another in their Rebellious attacks, and Sacrilegious spoils: The *Dutch* and *Germans* have employed theirs to a like good purpose, but what their Poets name was, I have not hitherto been informed: Our *Puritans* have done the like, in our late Civil Wars, with *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, when they have gone about to charge their more Loyal Countrey-men then in Arms for the King, as may be made good from their forces in *Lincolnshire*, and other Countries. Nay, I fear, we have outdone the Foreigners in one very profane practice I have observed, that I mean, is, libelling parties, yea, and single persons, in the choice of a *Psalm*, the sense whereof shall be forced to reproach a Sentence judicially pronounced at the end of some suit at Law, and sometimes to ridicule conformity to the order of our Church. That
our

our Rebels guilt made them jealous of the like project in those whom they suspected for more Legal principles than their own, is not amiss noted from that act of folly, if not more criminal, I have read perpetrated by *Isaac Penington*, *London's* Lord Chief Justice in his time, who sent a fellow to *Newgate* (perhaps a Clerk of some Church there) only for setting a Malignant *Psalm*, as he did another for Reading a Malignant Chapter, possibly the 13th to the *Romans*, such a one as he would have had enserped (among many others) toward constituting a new *Apocrypha*, to secure a Scriptural Canon (if he and other such miscreants could have compiled it) to countenance their Rebellion, (as they did in misapplied Texts too often) by Holy Writ. Some other improper uses they made of 'em, as at their City Feasts, in the place of more artificial Musick, that commonly attend such entertainments. And as an hypocritical property, to gain the reputation of Piety, in the strict observance of family-duties, as they call them, whereof some of their own Children have taken notice, as did that Boy, who being reproached by his Play-fellow, That

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they

they Sung no *Psalms* upon Sabbath days in the Evening, as his Father and the rest did at *their* House; received this in answer with too much truth, as the young Gamester ingenuously meant it, That the reason why at his Fathers house no *Psalms* were wont to be Sung, was because *they had no Window toward the street.*

Many odd passages, in reference to those *Psalms*, have affected the minds of most judicious persons, whose ears they have arrived, but none, upon that account, have, in their merriment, made more reflections, in contempt and scorn of our Religion, which they will needs suppose, either allows or tolerates 'em, than some in the *Roman* Communion, who, to my knowledge, mimically sing their Tunes, and act such Farces, with ridiculous circumstances as have been credibly reported to 'em, observing also the rusticity of their language, and inconsonancy of their Rhime, as no man in his right mind, can better temper an excuse of what he must not disown, than by a smile and silence.

To what end they were first ordained, may be shrewdly guessed by the critical season

season of their composition, which, we read, was about the same time, when by the formality of a Commission, accompanied with the irregularity of Riotous and Sacrilegious people, not only the Plate and rich Ornaments of the Altars were seized on in the Kings name *E. 6.* for their own commodity ; but most furniture of all sorts, belonging to the several Quires throughout the Realm, were rifled, and the very structures in a great part demolished or defaced, (that in *St. Paul's Cathedral* it self not escaping) as if so well the daily Sacrifice of praising God in Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, whatsoever the new Liturgy order'd otherwise) were thence to be exterminated, as that of the Mass. They that had such apprehension, or other conceit in fancy for innovation, might easily be induced to entertain this new device, at least in their private Houses, and as formerly they had been gratified with the priviledge of reading the Scripture in our vulgar language, so now be yet more pleased with the liberty they might enjoy, at will, of singing their Psalter, thus Poetically improved, in the same. Howsoever, this may be,

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not

not invidiously, nor partially, observed, from the first publication of 'em; that they were by none more regarded, nor more eagerly contended for, than by those that were most seditiously inclined, and disaffected to the established order of the Church, which in this particular, among others, was carefully provided for, especially after the coming of the precise Brethren from *Geneva*, where they had not only learned from their great Master *Calvin*, a new Institution, or System of Religion, but acquainted themselves well with his subtile methods of Sacrilege, or Sequestration of any Church Revenue, which they could pretend to have been superstitiously employed, that is, in more truth, applied to the external decency, or solemnity of Divine Service, and Religious Worship of God in his Holy Temple; for little less than a suspicion of Rapine, in some such sort, seemeth to be implied in the 49 *Injunction* of Queen *Elizabeth*; whereunto it occurs, thus;

“ Because in divers Collegiate, and also some Parish Churches heretofore, there have been livings appointed for the maintenance of Men and Children
“ to

“ to use singing in the Church, by means
 “ whereof the laudable service of Mu-
 “ sick hath been had in estimation, and
 “ preserved in knowledge: the Queens
 “ Majesty neither meaning in any wise,
 “ the decay of any thing that might con-
 “ veniently tend to the use and continu-
 “ ance of the said Science, neither to have
 “ the same in any part so abused in the
 “ Church, that thereby the Common Pray-
 “ er should be the worse understood of
 “ the hearers, willeth and commandeth,
 “ that first no *alterations* be made of such
 “ *assignments of living*, as heretofore hath
 “ been appointed to the use of *Singing* or
 “ *Musick* in the Church, but that the same
 “ so remain. And that there be a mo-
 “ dest and distinct Song so used in all
 “ parts of the Common Prayers in the
 “ Church, that the same may be as plainly
 “ understood, as if it were read with-
 “ out singing, and yet nevertheless, for
 “ the comforting of such that delight in
 “ Musick, it may be permitted, that in
 “ the beginning, or in the end of Com-
 “ mon Prayers, either at Morning or
 “ Evening, there may be sung an Hymn,
 “ or such like Song, to the praise of Al-
 “ mighty God, in the best sort of Melody

“and Musick that may be conveniently
“devised, having respect that the Sentence
“of the Hymn may be understood and
“perceived. : . . .

My Remarks upon which Injunction are these:

1. That not only in Cathedrals, but in some Parochial Churches also, means had been settled upon Singing-men and younger Choristers, to begin, and carry on the Solemn Tunes of the *Psalms* in Prose, as they are, Verse after Verse, prickt out by a *middle distinction* to that purpose.

2. That the said settlement advanced the estimation of Musick, accounted a laudable Service, when diligently attended, and performed according to the true intent, and first institution thereof.

3. That evident enough it is, the Queen either *had* been moved, or apprehended she *should* be, to divert the *Revenues* of such Livings to other uses; else, why was her Majesty sollicitous to open her mind in an unnecessary caution against what no body thought on but her self.

4. That

4. That if any did (as such Harpies may have been about her) Her Majesty very piously and generously discouraged the attempt, by disclaiming all thought or meaning, to *authorize or countenance it.*

5. That her Majesty secured the popular convenience and complacence, by ordering Plain-Song, and continuing the Common Prayer intelligible by such as would be attentive to it, accordingly Sung.

6. That for the more Musical Ears, and distinctive Judgements in that Science, her Majesty provided peculiar Hymns, in some better Melody, not intending thereby to cherish or gratifie the *Curious*, but administer Comfort to *Pious Souls*, predisposed so to apply it.

From all which I conclude, That *Thomas Sternhold* and his Mates, or Followers, were, unknown to the Queen, set upon their Poetical task by some that had in design not only to chace the more solemn Musick out of the Church, but to divert, or appropriate, to themselves the Livings and maintenance of it, if it could be obtained, or extorted, from the Superiour Power; for why else should
the

the Queen start the scruple? Or why might they not hope to be altogether so successful in Sacriledge here, as their elder Brethren had been in foreign parts?

Howsoever, the industrious prosecution of this new invention, cannot, by indifferent and rational persons, be judged to conduce so much as the former Parochial, and present Cathedral practice, either to the solemnity of our Service, or one principal end of our Reformation, *viz.* the intelligibility of what is Said or Sung in the Church, unless Art and Science be postponed to Ignorance; or our Rhimical Singers have a singular sagacity of Sense, or facility of the Ear, which no body must pretend to but themselves.

For let any person, indifferently disposed, (though otherwise but meanly qualified to be judge in the case) sincerely and ingenuously answer me, Whether makes the more solemn and devoutly affecting Musick, our Cathedral harmony regulated by a skilful Quire, according to their Science; or the flat asymphony, the jarring dissonancy (*discordia discors*, in good earnest) of an ignorant confused mul-

multitude, met in a Parochial Church, where is, of course, but one pitiful *Præcento*, if the Clerk be any.

And Secondly, Whether the like attention had to both, the *Psalms* in Prose, as chanted in the former, be not by far more distinctly intelligible, than the rude Rhimes screamed and snuffled out in the latter.

But, you will tell me, Although not Order, Custome, more naturally prevalent, has provided against that defect in many Churches, and may be brought into the rest at the peoples pleasure, *viz.* by the Clerks distinct reading every line before the Congregation sings it.

This, I confess, gives us a copy of some little countenance, in answer to the objection, but not enough to bear it self up against other inconveniences, and indecencies observed in that practice by Wiser Men than they that offer to promote it : Else, certainly, the Right Reverend and most judicious Bishop *Wren* would not have made a like enquiry after it, as after other enormities in his Diocese of *Norwich* ; the 49th Article at his Visitation being this :

“ If

“ If any *Psalms* be used to be sung in
 “ your Church, before or after the Morn-
 “ ing and Evening Prayer, or before or
 “ after the Sermons (upon which occa-
 “ sions only, they are allowed to be sung
 “ in Churches) is it done according to
 “ that grave manner (which first was in
 “ use) that such do Sing as can Read the
 “ *Psalms*, or have learned them by heart :
 “ and not after that uncouth and unde-
 “ cent custome of late taken up, to have
 “ every line first read [by one alone] and
 “ then sung by the people ?

Those words [*by one alone*] were insert-
 ed afterward, when his Lordship urged
 the same Article in his Diocess of *Eley*,
 whither he was translated; and com-
 plaint made of the Article to the Long
 Parliament, by the factious *William*
Prynne, Compiler of a Book entituled,
Canterburies Doom, pag. 372.

And, to the exclusion of those Rhi-
 ming *Psalms* out of the Service, where
 they are too frequently intruded, by
 popular consent, his Lordship had cau-
 sed to be inserted a peculiar clause in
 another distinct Article, which was
 this :

“ ---After

“ —After the Lessons, doth he [your
 “ Curate] use no other *Psalm* or *Hymn*,
 “ but those which the Book of Common
 “ Prayer hath appointed ?

For his Lordship, among other excellencies, so exact a Critick in our language, and observer of sense with its coherence, (neither of which but tript too frequently in the *Geneva-Paraphrase*) since he could not suddenly repair all breaches, nor restrain all extravagances, which the Foreigners of several Nations had occasioned in his Diocess of *Norwich*, was resolved by degrees to turn the stream into its proper Channel, and keep it clear from mixing with the muddy waters of the Lake, whereof Nature having given a precedent, his Lordship understood a like possibility, by due care, in the current order of the Church.

As to which Foreigners above-mentioned, I ask your leave, Sir, here to say, If they had prudently and modestly used the Royal Grant of Indulgence to 'em, from time to time, of all they at first made known, themselves then hoped or wished, *ſc.*

That here they might enjoy the Liberty of Conscience, and Safety for their
 Goods

Goods and Persons, which their own Countrey had denied them, as in King Edward the Sixth's Patent to 'em is thus expressed --- *Præsidiis ad vitam degendam necessariis in Regno nostro egere non dignum esse duximus*--- Granting them a place where they might exercise the Religion they had been bred up in, after the rite and manner of their own Countrey among themselves; --- *Ubi inter suæ gentis & moderni idiomatis homines Religionis negotia & res Ecclesiasticas, pro patrio ritu & more, intelligenter obire & tractare possint*--- Wherein the Gospel should be interpreted without corruption, and the Sacraments administred according to the Word of God, and Apostolical observation, notwithstanding that they differed from the Government, and Forms of Worship, established in the Church of England.

If John a Lasco the Polonian, instituted first Superintendant of that Society, or Corporation, could have been content with the free and quiet fruition, enjoyment, use and exercise of all they had asked, according to the words in their Patent --- *Libere & quiete frui, gaudere, uti, & exercere*; for assurance of all which

which priviledge to be made good unto them, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, for the time being, with the Court of Aldermen, and Bishop of *London*, were to be Curators and Protectors.

If *John a Lasco*, like a false Lown, a sly Serpent, lying close under the leaves of the foresaid Patent, had not watched, and when he espied an unhappy rupture, upon a slight occasion, beginning to be made in our Church, glided out of his covert, on purpose to foment the Schism, and encrease it; so far wretchedly abusing the Kings goodness, as to appear in favour of the *Zuinglian* and *Calvinian* faction, so early got over hither,

... If he had not urged on that *over-scrupulous* Lord Elect of *Glocester*, the Pious and Learned *Hooper*, to persist irreconcilable to the Cap and Surplice.

If he had not, yet more pragmatically, writ an earnest Letter to that greater Divine, and far meeker *Christian, M. Bucer*, inviting, or importuning him to patronize that fond and frivolous conceit, from whom he received, deservedly, a severe rebuke for his pains.

If he had not too openly, and so far scandalously, manifested his desires (to say nothing

nothing of endeavours) that *Semi-Arrianism*, opin'd in *Poland*, and the practice of it, in one particular, by *Session* at the holy *Sacrament*, should have been introduced to the *English Church*, in justifying which not only did he affect discourse, but publish his frantick arguments in a Book entituled, *Forma & ratio totius Ecclesiastici Ministerii*; as if on purpose to confront the better order established here.

If, after their trooping off at *Queen Mary's* coming to the Crown, and the *quinquennium* of Persecution passed over, when *Queen Elizabeth* re-assumed the improvement of Reformation, had not come over hither, to the obstructing or retarding of that good work, a greater number of such ungrateful men, a medly of *French, Dutch, and Walloons*, who were licensed to plant themselves in several parts of this Kingdom, beside *London*, most opportune for their trade, being approximate unto, or at no great distance from, the Sea.

If by the fore-mentioned precedent, they had not claimed a title to the like indulgence, and, with no great difficulty, obtain'd their Patent.

If,

If, when obtained, their Church in London had stretcht their priviledge no further than the length and latitude of the Letters from the Privy Council to them 1573, touching Rites and Ceremonies, particularly their choice of posture in publick Prayer, standing, kneeling, prostrating, adoring; whereof several Churches abroad had taken their Christian liberty, *dum hi stantes, illi in genua procidentēs, alii proni procumbentes, adorant & precantur* (wherein, by the way, no mention at all is made of Session).

If the Order of K. James, under his Signet, June 13. 1616. which implied a parallel of their having so much allowed em here, as our Natives had abroad with them, might have moved them, now and then, to retrospection, and careful enquiry, whether the balance of mutual courtesie were kept even and steady.

If the like concession, renewed by K. Charles the First, had been so gratefully accepted as graciously it was yielded, without a sinister reflection upon his marriage with the Royal Daughter of
E
France,

France, 1625. or drawing, by subtle insinuation, an expresse promise from his Majesty, that the said Marriage should not be any dammage to them, but rather, as himself hoped, an occasion of much good to their Countrey-men.

If the said Kings pleasure, signified by his Privy Council, *Anno* 1630. to the *Dutch* at *Norwich*, and the same notified elsewhere, had been humbly complied with, which at no time grated more on the foreigners than the preservation of unity in his own Church required.

If no exemption had been insisted on from Archiepiscopal power (*their* Metropolitan so well as *ours*) when the King, *Secundum beneplacitum*, (being no otherwise restrained than was his Royal Father) appointed, they should be visited, upon great reason of State rendered for it, so well as all Corporate Members and Parochial Churches in both Provinces, to the sole intent, that Right and Justice might be done, and Unity preserved, without any restriction laid on the manner of worship they had exercised before,

before, of retrenchment of the wonted jurisdiction among themselves.

If the two Congregations of strangers, in the City of *Norwich*, had not troubled their Diocesan with Remonstrance and Petition, and afterward, in like manner, the Archbishop, June 26. 1635.

If the Generality of them had not published a Summary Relation of the Archbishops proceedings herein, notwithstanding his Grace had before acquainted them, that he proceeded according to Injunctions, he had received from the King, who preserved to himself the same liberty his Royal Father had, who promised them protection no further than any other good King would do, viz. with the convenience and security of his own Dominions ; *Je vous protegeray ainsi que conviendra un bon Prince, &c.*

If the querulous Confederates of the three foreign Churches in *Kent* had not, afterwards, Printed a Book entituled, A Relation of their troubles caused by the Injunctions of *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 1634. set forth by *John*

E 2

Bulsteel,

Bulkeley, one of their *Walloon* Ministers, as I remember, in *Canterbury* in self, which, in point of common civility, might have spared their pains; or, if they would needs be importunate, might have been further resolved to take notice, whose order his Grace had for what he did, and not render'd him odious for his good endeavours to keep our Churches, (and their Congregations too) in peace and union, the principal end and scope of that his Metropolitcal Visitation.

If, in summe, all of them would have been regular, as modest Strangers ought to have been, by the direction of superiours both to them and us, giving us no jealousy of their abetting, or encouraging, such our people as were disaffected to the government they lived under, there might have needed no scrutiny by Visitation, nor enquiry after them, their priviledges by Patent being secured to 'em, and our peaceable communication unmolested.

But you will ask, Sir, what pertinence have these *hypotheses*, these *ifs*, to their, or our, singing *Psalms*, the subject I had in hand? Truly, none, other-

wife

wise than as I was prompted to bring 'em in upon that occasion, having shewed before, that from *them* was borrowed the uncouth custome, and at length incorporated, by *their* precedent, with the practice of our *Puritans*, among the Symbolic Characters of Protestant Reformation; yet, before I part with it, I shall take the freedom to acquaint you with one affected instance, of my personal observation, acted by 'em, in the presence of his Majesty, at the Royal Chapel of St. James's, few years since; where, one Sunday in the afternoon, his Majesty being pleased to hear an eloquent, and much famed Preacher in the *French* language, I, as ordered, and of course, read Common Prayer in *English*, saying the Hymns, *Magnificat*, &c. as appointed in our Rubrick; when on a sudden, unexpectedly, some of the Foreigners there assembled began one of *Morot's* Psalms, immediately followed by many more, until inhibited by the hand; as if they had not known *where*, and *before whom* they were, perswaded, doubtless, that our Office had been imperfect, if not unan-

etified (in Dr. *Heylins* expression) without such a *Psalm*. And the very same licence, with less guilt, though not without fault, and faction too, have our own people, of the like zealous sort, taken in Parochial Congregations, where they knew their Minister (disaffected to *Sternhold's* and *Hopkins's*, with the others metre) must needs be discomposed in the serious and solemn thoughts he brought with him to Church, interrupted in his Office, and put upon an uncertain issue of his complaint, if at least the Bishop or Chancellour of the Diocess, to whom he made it, were inclinable to affect those *Psalms*, one of which they had urged into the Service without his leave, and in opposition to the better order of our Church. Whereupon it may not impertinently be observed, That *Tho. Sternhold's* translation, or *English Paraphrase* of the *Psalms*, was entered on about the same time when King *Edward* the Sixth's first Common-Prayer-book was settled, and, among other things, order taken for the Singing, or Saying, the *Psalms* in Prose, with the Hymns in their proper places:

places : And what was then projected by it (for a project we may suppose it was) is more openly practis'd at this day, with the same intention, to defeat that order, and more than that, as they can prevail, particularly the 36 Injunction of *Q. Eliz.* *That no man shall willingly let—or discourage, any Curate, or Minister, to sing, or say, the Divine Service now set fourth, &c.* And yet further than so, the fact infringeth the 15th Canon of the Synod at *Laodicea*, held about the year 364. which, though objected, in another case to be but a Provincial Council, and of very little authority in the Church, the Reverend Dean of *Peterburgh*, in his *Scholastical History*, pag. 62. affirms it to be a Council that consisted of divers Provinces, or Regions of *Asia*, which makes it greater than any Provincial Synod. Secondly, That it was always held to be of great Veneration and Authority in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, (and why should it not be of like esteem with us?) *antiqua nobilitate celeberrimum—Græcorum atque Latinorum Scriptis celebri memoriæ commendatum, as*
E 4 Binus.

Binus. But the greatest honour done it is, by the Canons, those Fathers made, being put into the *Code* of the Universal Church, whereof the 219th Canon is this :

Quod non oportet præter Canonicos cantores, qui ambonem ascendunt, & ex codice canunt, alios quoslibet canere in Ecclesia.

By which, according to the learned Patriarch *Tb. Balsamon's* explication, although Laies were not absolutely forbid to sing in the Church ; yet they were restrain'd from a bold practice, some of them had adventur'd on, to begin the Canticle, and lead the Quire (by whom they were to be led) *οἱ κατηχησμενοι τῶν κανονικῶν*, in contempt of the Clerks, or Canonical Chanters (*κατοικησμενοι ψαλμοῖς* they were called) whose priviledge, or right, it was ; and who therefore were advanced to a Pulpit, or Desk, above the people, where they might be better heard, and regarded by the Assembly : And these were they that in our Parochial Churches were of old called, The Priest and his Clerks ; who only, until our
Refor-

Reformation, were to sing in the Church and none else, says the Answerer to Liturgical demands, which at this day is no otherwise observed by the Romanists themselves than in Balsamon's sense, newly recited to you.

Now, as the Singers were limited, so were the *Psalms* too, by the 163 Canon in the Code, the very last of the Laodicean Council, thus, *On idu idamides* *idamides*, &c.

Quod non oportet privatos Psalmos in Ecclesia legere; privatos dici, as translated by Gentian Hervetus; *psallere, vel legere*, Caranza has in the title; In one of Peter Crabbe's editions I find it thus, *Quod non oportet plebeios Psalmos in Ecclesia cantare*, &c. in his other, *Non oportet ab idiotis Psalmos compositos; & vulgares, in Ecclesiis dici*.

From all we have in view, I collect these denotations of the *Psalms* prohibited, *privati, plebei, compositi, vulgares*; private, plebeian, composed, vulgar, which may pass for the same with Plebeian.

And as to the publick use of them, is this variety; *legere, dici, psallere, cantare*: All which

which will be comprized in *saying*, or *singing*, that is, in uttering them any way by the voice, which is plain enough, but what is meant by *Private* or *Plebeian Psalms*, may not be so; toward discovery whereof, what I found ready at hand, or with little search, Sir, I shall briefly communicate.

The *Greek Scholiast* says, that, beside the 150 *Psalms*, that are called *Dauids*, there were others, that went under the name of *Solomon*, *ὑμνῶν δαυὶδ*, and some other perhaps obscurer, or meaner, authors; the Fathers therefore calling them *Private*, decreed, they should not be recited in the Church; The learned *Christopher Justel* further notes from *Eusebius*, That the ancient *Christians* were wont, beside the Divine monuments, *præter divina monumenta* (the canonical Book of *Psalms*, he means) to compose, and sing to the praise of God, certain *Psalms* and *Hymns*, *ὑμνῶν καὶ ὕμνων*, &c. that they were devised in variety of Verse and Rhime; such are they this Council disallows the use of in the Church; and care enough was taken by our Reformers to prevent the

the like abuse, until our *Calvinistical Puritans* grew bold, and packt with the like-affected *Stationers* to impose upon publick authority for private ends; which can be no more justified, I mean *Singing* their *Psalms*, as pitifully paraphrased, in Church-Assemblies than the *Reading* Books Apocryphal, that are truly such, and so, of old accounted; for those are not such, though called so, that are bound up, mostly with our Bibles, but Ecclesiastical, some parts of which, you know, Sir, are selected, and appointed to be read, at certain times as first of the two Lessons in the Church, there being other more properly styled Apocryphal, as our Reverend Dean hath demonstrated the exact difference, from ancient and modern Writers, in his Scholastical History; and both so *Reading*, and *Singing*, are prohibited by the Fathers in this Council, as it follows in the Canon, *aut libros non-canonicos, sed solos canonicos veteris et novi Testamenti*, the irregularity being the same, of *Singing* non-canonical *Psalms*, as of *reading* Apocryphal Books, in our publick Assemblies, and one no less

less than the other inhibited by this Council.

Nor ought it to pass unobserved, That the Psalter is a peculiar part, or portion of the Canon, the use whereof is intimated by the very title, and consequently, of a like Divine institution to be *Sung*, as dictated by the Holy Spirit, so well as the other Books to be *Read* as they are penned by the sacred Writers, without the disguise of a Paraphrase; for the two and twenty Books of the Old Testament are thus divided; twelve Historical, five Prophetical, four Paraneetical, or of Doctrine and Instruction (as our Reverend Dean translates *Leontius Byzantinus*) and one of Psalmody; Now for our *Puritans* to tell God plainly (as, in effect, they do) That they like not to Sing the *Psalms*, as he hath inspired and left them, but will have them in their own Rhime, and Meeter; is no less unsufferable, and profane, than if they should reject the *Song of Solomon*, because we have it in Prose; or paraphrase the other Sacred Hymns, that are dispersed in the Holy Bible, and prefer them to the same,

as

as they find them, without any such *Metamorphose*, in the Canon!

But in stretch of time (which must not be forgotten) providence permitted these Singularists to be payed home in their own kind, as Doctor *Heylyn* historizeth, more at large, than I shall take liberty to transcribe; for their brethren of the Second Separation became so licentious, as in their three kinds of spiritual Worship, *Praying*, *Prophefying*, and *Singing of Psalms*, they would be under no kind of restraint, but, as to the third, we are treating of, proposed these Queries. 1. Whether in a *Psalm* a man must be tyed to Meeter, Rhime, and Tune? and, Whether Voluntary be not as necessary in Tune and Words, as well as Matter: and, 2. Whether Meeter, Rhimes, and Tune, be not quenching the Spirit.

According to which Resolution of the New separation, every man, when the Congregation shall be met together, may first conceive his own Matter in the Act of Praising; deliver it in Prose or Meeter, as he lists himself; and, in the same instant, chant out, in what Tune soever,

soever, that which comes first into his own head: Which would be such a horrible confusion of Tongues and Voices, that hardly any howling or gnashing of Teeth can be like unto it, (they are the Doctors very words) under which deserved censure, I leave the Songsters, or Separatists of both sorts, to agree among themselves, there being no likelihood, upon the principles, and practice, by either party, of their agreement with us, and conformity to the order of our Church.

But, Sir; before I altogether quit the Subject, undertaken by me, upon occasion of the Deans Letter, it is fit I give you some satisfaction, without demand, why I rested not on the authority of his keverence's opinion as summarily, and concisely, written, but extended my search so much further after matter of contradiction to so inveterate a custom, that is radicated with the essentials of our Religion, and seems to have condemned the Canon or Rubrick to eternal silence; wherein to deal ingenuously and frankly with you, the true reason, beside what you may collect from my antecedent

tecedent discourse, is the ungrateful,
 and yet irksome, remembrances I am,
 ever and anon, molested with, of the
 manifold vexation I have had in my time,
 both at home, and abroad, upon ac-
 count of my aversion from that rude
 Paraphrase so accounted by me ever
 since I was capable to judge of it, and
 argue rationally against it : For my
 first prejudice arising from what I ob-
 served in the University of *Cambridge*,
 that many persons of a Pious conver-
 sation, and devout assistants at the or-
 dinances and offices of our Church,
 whilst the *Psalm* was Sung by the
 great Assembly at *St. Marys*, sat there
 as mutes, even in the Masters Quadrang-
 gle or Square, the most publick in all
 the Church : Besides, frequently, other-
 where, when mention was made at
 any time of the several Paraphrasts, espe-
 cially the three small Poets, *Sternhold*,
Hopkins, and *Wisdome* ; the same wor-
 thy persons were wont to censure the
 work, as it deserved, and much to un-
 dervalue their parts and prudence in the
 attempt : To understand better why they
 took liberty to condemn what every
 day

day gained ground upon the good opinion of others, and pass'd so current-ly in the use of our Churches, so well Cathedrals as other, (for our Reverend D. Durell. Vindicator or Assertor of our practice, must be understood in a very favourable sense, and at least with restriction to the Quire, it being manifestly otherwise (I wish it were not.) in the Nave Area, or body of the most, when he writes Cap. 27. *Psalmi Rhythmici ab Ecclesiis Cathedralibus &c. plane exultant; nec nisi prosa oratione Cantuque simplicissimo, ac ideo facillimo, in eis cantantur* [*Psalmi veteris versionis*]) I remember, as I was saying, in my young days, I took some pains to compare their trivial meeter with both the Translations of our *Psalms* in Prose, by which I was convinced, how much the Poems derogated from the Style and Gravity of the other, and when I laid to them, as I did, the elegant *Latin* Paraphrase of the learned *Buchanan*, and the alike terse *English* of Mr. *Sands*; when I further applied my ear with good attention, to the solemn Tunes used in our Colledge-Chapels, especially with the Organ;

Organ; and to the confused noise or sound, harshly render'd by Parochial Congregations; so differently was I affected, as I would never after permit my self any compliance in Singing with the generality of our common people, where-ere I went; Which with some other strictness I thought my self obliged to, and could not satisfactorily dispence with, made me seem so heterogeneous, in many places, and companies, that much of my converse abroad, was under a sort of Inquisition, and no less accountable was I made to every Peevish *Puritan* I met with, than if I had lost an article of my Creed, and declined communion with my *Christian* brethren; one or two instances among many more that occur, I shall here, Sir, obtrude upon you, and then draw toward a conclusion, that I may not tire you quite.

When, the War ended in the West, I had with other my Lord *Hoptons* Servants, the benefit of his Lordships Articles, and liberty to leave *England*. The first opportunity I had to exercise my function was in the Isle of *Jerzey*,
 F where,

where, even after his Highness, the Prince of *Wales*, was gone for *France*, three or four of the Loyal Clergy kept up an *English* Congregation in *St. Hilliars* Church, beside those in the Castle ; In my turn of Preaching, it happened once, my Text led me into a discourse of Church-musick, instrumental, and vocal, the latter giving me occasion to mention our *Psalms* in Meeter, not without some complaint of the unskilful Paraphrasts, that undertake the task : But more against the abuse, I had observed, wrought by some Seditious Parish-Clerks, or other malicious people, that suggested such, or such, a *Psalme* to be set, in a juncture of time, or business, that the like affected in the Congregation understood very well, what interest they served, or party therein they gratified ; nor was this practice inconsiderable in the very ferment of the grand Rebellion ; for what I speak, in that sort, if I might expect no thanks, I knew no reason, why I should apprehend a censure, from any intelligent, and indifferent, person then present,

present, having used such caution as might guard me from all just exception: But my self-opinion was soon frustrate, by a call I had to attend a person of Honour (of which eminent quality divers were then there) at his Chamber; whither being come, he immediately gave the meaning of his summons, the scandal he had taken at my Sermon the Sunday before, particularizing some invective words I used against the composition or style, and the authors too, of the Paraphrase often mentioned. He was pleased to dilate more upon it, than so small an error deserved (if an error it had been) I attentively hearkned to all he said, as in good manners, so in great hopes to be instructed, that those *Psalms* had some better authority from above, than a bare allowance, which hath proved to be none, but as the *Stationer*, you find falsly pretends in the Title-page; I made no scruple at owning the sum of what he alledged, and gave such reasons in my own behalf, as I had ready; which could be answered with nothing but a popular Custom, and

insuperable prepossession, which cast forth somewhat to this purpose, " If I had
 " Preached the same in *England*, when
 " times were more Sedate, and the Bi-
 " shop had not censured me, he had de-
 " served to have been censured, and
 " that, rather than the cause should
 " have wanted prosecution himself would
 " have been the Actor to pursue it. I
 was somewhat troubled to see him so
 far transported, as not to take notice,
 that, though this practice of Singing
 the *Psalms* in Rhime, together with
 some other of *Calvin* and *Beza's* form-
 ing, or countenancing, had run ma-
 ny years on in our Church, like wild-
 fire, when the train is laid; yet no
 prudent Bishop would urge his Clergy
 upon pretercanonical usages, more than
 to preter-articulate Doctrines, without
 the publick authority, or private per-
 mission, of the Supreme power, that,
 even in Ecclesiasticks, is above him.
 But his Honours naming of a *Bishop*
 called into my remembrance, that the
 very same words (for seldom, in such
 Auditories, do I dare, at any time to
 vary from what my Pen prepares)
 I had

I had some years before delivered the same words (I say) in *S. Maries*, the Right Reverend Doctor *Brownrigg*, then not only Bishop, but Vice-Chancellor, beside other of the Consistorian Heads, being present, from none of whom received I any check, nor so much as a frown, (observed) when I came out of the Pulpit. And a very learned Gentleman, now a worthy Prelate of our Church, coming a day or two after to my Chamber, on a friendly visit, moved me to let him read the whole Sermon over, which I yeilded the rather, because I attributed much to his judgement, and was sure of his integrity, not to conceal from me what he observed in it liable to censure, or capable of construction into an offensive sense; whereof nothing at all being spoken, I had no reason to forbear the same Language elsewhere, upon like occasion, what I uttered being only this:

“ I am not at leisure now to discuss
 “ that opinion of *Sanctius*, for which he
 “ citeth *Theodoret*, that *Elisba's* Min-
 “ strel was no other than a *Levite*, who
 F 3 “ Sung

“ Sung some of *Dauids Psalms* unto him,
 “ which, it may be, in their pure natu-
 “ ral, were, by far, diviner, and cha-
 “ ster Musick, than since, after the ill
 “ handling of some uncouth Poets,
 “ they became prostitute in the mouths
 “ of licentious Zelots, and blind En-
 “ thusiasts, whose sensual appetites too
 “ often hire their mercenary tongues to
 “ prophane this Musick, while their im-
 “ pure thoughts are courting of their
 “ Mistress.

These lines as they lay, I read un-
 to his Honour, whereby it appeared, that
 I then named not the Paraphrasts, as
 he, being over-earnest, alledged, I did,
Hopkins at least; wherein, yet, I had
 not been so bold with his name as
 the famed Court-Mercury had in the
 year 43. with that of a greater man,
 in the same case, when he writ thus,
 on the Rebels of that time.

“ But, let them be confident, they
 “ that are unborn, and cannot speak
 “ now, will declare their admirable
 “ Rebellion to posterity, so as they
 “ will be read upon every Post and
 “ Gate, in as honourable Rhimes, as
 “ Mr.

“Mr. Rouse bestowed upon the Singing
 “*Psalms*, a theme, (one would think)
 “ which deserves better usage.

And better usage it had from a better Head, and neater Hand, of the more elegant Mr. *George Sands*, whose name I then used, wishing, if a Paraphrase we must have, that; or some such, might be in it, wherein I would not refuse to join with the Congregation, when authorized to sing it; so far was I from declaiming against all Singing of *Psalms*, though I thought it very just, and not imprudent at all, to incline the people to a dislike of that Paraphrase, which had so many absurdities (to say no worse) in it, that I trembled to sing them in the House of God; adding, that my close invective was meant against them I named not; principally the *London-Lecturers*, and other of those times, who ordinarily went into the Pulpit with a Singing *Psalms*, neglecting the Liturgy to gain time for their own longer Prayer: Against the common practice of Parish Clerks (as before-mentioned) who, upon a Puritanical suggestion, or fee given, by

some male-content, or ill-principled person, would select such a *Psalm*, as the words whereof might be perverted to the encouragement of Sedition or Schism; to which said his Honour, *The more Fools the Ministers that would suffer their Clerks to have the liberty of chusing the Psalms*; not observing what *Ministers* I aimed at, no whit better nor wiser than their Clerks: But here he inserted an Interrogative of some terrour, "What if "Mr. Gatford, the next *Sunday*, should "preach against standing up at *Gloria Patri*, being a thing brought in "only by custome, not command? "accordingly as I had newly instanced "against the Singing *Psalms*: To which, although I could have made a sharp reply, knowing what Mr. Gatford had formerly said and done, *in Sacris*, not only by the favour of Custome, but against Canon: Yet I moderated my self to this, saying, If there were the like reason for the one, as the other, and the like abuse, let him do it; for though he *might*, I *would not*, put a pillow under any ones elbow, to give him ease, with the peril of drawing

ing the *Væ*, in vengeance upon my self; for the menace in *Ezekiel*, by consent of many Interpreters, extendeth beyond the women of his time, though they alone be named; and passeth from the Old-Testament Prophets to the Preachers of the New, that slay souls by flattery for gain. I am ashamed to let Posterity know how little my fair Apology prevailed, where none at all ought to have been required; for after two or three hours discourse on the *Psalms*, and somewhat else, I had preached about the Monastic life of the ancient Prophets, who, we may be sure, were no Papists; nor *St. Basil* and *St. Hierome*, Fathers of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, separately taken, other than good Catholick Christians; although I kept distance enough from what may be controversial in the point, yet this person of Honour was pleased to tell me in plain terms, *That he would have none of these new doctrines* imposed upon him in publick (as if the whole Assembly were contracted to his single person.) and if I would not
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forbear; he would refrain coming to Church. I presume, he meant, when he should know I was to preach, wherein I left him to his liberty, and preserved my own, with no intendment to abuse it, in any affront to him, or others.

Sir, This *severe*, not to say *rough* dealing I could not well digest, with the submission somewhat unreasonably expected, but knowing no better remedy at hand than the *Catholicon* of Patience, I made use of it in this, and many other conflicts, with more inferiour persons, who, in many things, hated to be reformed according to the Canon of our Church, though fellow-sufferers in our exile: Only hereupon I resolved to consult my betters, which happily produced this Letter from the Reverend Dean, whose authority was my Shield, many times, afterward, under the notion of a Dignitary in our Church, until (by what accident I know not) the Letter itself was dropt in some publick passage, taken up by the Lieutenant Governour of the Island, and with his
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own hand shortly after re-delivered to mine: It being so, by providence, preserved, as I since have accounted, for my necessary defence against the very urgent proposal, though no direct imposition or command of some worthy Prelates, my Right Reverend Bishops, since his Majesties return, who took this particular, among others, into their comprehensive method of moderation, and popular compliance, which I wish had effected the reunion intended, and earnestly endeavoured by 'em: If I may without offence, Sir, I will report to you some instances I bear in mind, without any unbecoming reflexion upon their persons; that may deserve your censure, if I have not your approbation.

When I came first to this Parochial Rectory, which I have now enjoyed somewhat above twenty years, informing my self, by what means I best could, touching the genius of my people, I found I had entred on a hard task of reducing them into the right path, from which they had diverted through the course of many years before,

fore, my Predecessor having been misled himself, and they by him, in the erroneous doctrines and practices of those times; the later of the two was that alone, which I could hope in some measure to redress: for so well knew I the *Presbyterian*, after long acquaintance, as I had concluded him irreclaimable in his Doctrine, and irreconcilable to much of the outward worship in our Church; what I knew I could best justify by the character of my Order, and prudential rule of Government over them committed to me, without new direction from my Ordinary, I seasonably endeavoured, having left no liberty to my Clerk, the very first day of my publick appearance in this Church, to act any thing, on his part, but what he was expressly ordered by his rule and mine.

The *Psalms* in Meeter, I am treating of, had been so endeared to them, (who understood little better sense than what is unintelligible to him that hath most) it was supposed they would hardly part with them; and no less resolved was I neither to encourage

rage, nor permit, the practice of what I could not conscientiously joyn with them in, unless they could obtain an order to over-rule me, which I presumed my superiours wiser than to grant, upon any interest they could make, or the most importunate solicitation the boldest of them could use; yet I foresaw well enough how far they would adventure for it, and meant to keep on the defensive side, secured by the Rubrick after my saying the *Nicene Creed*; *Then shall follow the Sermon*, &c. without the least mention of any *Psalm* to be Sung, before my passing to the Pulpit; I suffered my self to be sounded by the Church-wardens and some others, why I continued not the old Custom, which they fondly thought soirreversible, as they flatter themselves, some other are, for non-payment of several Tythes, even without a *modus*, their Lawyer having found out a term worth ten of it, in *Latin* too, *Lex Terra*, which hath the efficacy to discharge all arrears, very potently, by paying nothing.

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The address, they agreed to make to the Bishop, I no way offered to obstruct; nor did I much regard the open mouths of the many-headed monster in the Countrey, that spent very freely, their deep resentment of so great a grievance, untill I perceived some of better note, who had in possession the Dromedaries of *Midian* and *Ephah*, who came from *Sheba* too, for ought that I know, but brought little or no Gold to the Church, and as little Incense to the name or reputation of her truest Priests, yet were very zealous in shewing forth the praises of the Lord this way of Singing, caring not at all for the other; until I was further certified, that my Lord Bishop, then, of *Sarum* so countenanced them, as they took for granted, their Custom-musick should be re-induced, and my morosity reformed to a free compliance; for it was high time I judged, in that juncture, to provide against the *dilemma* I could not else avoid, either of disobeying his Lordships *Council*, if not *Command*, (because he had no Canon, nor Rubrick, to authorize any such

such Injunction) or be irregular in my observance, and act contrary to the higher obligation, laid upon me, as I supposed, in the established Order of our service (as I have shewed) for my observing which, I understood not, why any apology should be made, if expected, or indeed could be, by me, without the guilt of either hypocrisie, or shame. Hereupon I truly stated the case to his Lordship, as I had done to my self, promising all submission to his paternal Order, when directed to me; but refusing to act ought without it, to gratifie a wilful people, in their digression from the Order of our Church. His Lordship knew, better than I, what power he had to dispense, and wherewith, which when he pleased to declare, in like manner, as in other cases, I had implicit faith enough to believe, that in pursuance of it I should not do amiss. I easily, Sir, perceived this ingenuous freedom did not relish well with his Lordship, and as ill satisfied was I to lye under the disgust of so Reverend a Prelate; the only expedient I could think

think of was, to wait some favourable opportunity, in which fairly to obtain the sense of the point in difference from some other worthy Prelate in no less eminency, if not in greater, than himself, whereby the cloud of misprision might be dispell'd, and their countenances cleared up, who had frown'd upon me for this unnecessary, nice, reluctance, as they supposed; which soon after, finding in my way, I successfully improved.

My good Angel guiding me to the Lord Bishop *Sheldons* Lodgings at *White-hall* in a good hour, when Lord Bishop *Henchman* of *Sarum* came to visit him. I being not permitted to go out, and leave them private, in some proper pause of their discourse, took occasion so far to accuse my self as to own, how at that present, I was unhappily fallen under my Diocefans displeasure, and craved leave of both to relate, for *what*, very briefly; which granted by their joint consent, having render'd the summ of what had passed, I reduced all to this question, proposing (with leave)

“ Whe-

" Whether a Clergy-man were obli-
 " ged by his Oath of Canonical o-
 " bedience, to conform, in his pub-
 " lick Offices, to the express order
 " of our Church, or with conmi-
 " vance only of his *Diocesan*, take up,
 " with others, an unauthoriz'd, unjustifi-
 " cable Custom, to rid himself, or his
 " Ordinary, from the importunity of
 " an ill principled and misguided peo-
 " ple.

The arguments for Canon, or Ru-
 brick (which is equivalent) and the
 opposite, for prevailing Custom, was
 pressed so far as on either side they
 would bear; and my Lord of *London*,
 whose Translation to the *Metropolitan*
See of Canterbury was near approach-
 ing, petitioned by me, to be (as I
 knew he would be) an impartial Ar-
 biter in the case. What my Lord of
Sarum most sharply insisted on was;
 " That no Parochial Priest ought to dis-
 " fer in practice from that of his *Dio-*
 " *cesan*; nor presume to withdraw his
 " Church or Congregation from the pre-
 " cedent of his Cathedral, that being lit-
 " tle better, than to set up Altar against

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" Altar;

"Altar," and consequently begin a Schism.

I humbly asked leave of his Lordship to make observation what advantage, unawares, he yeilded me, in paralleling the practice, he would have reintroduced into my Church, with that which already was, on solemn Festivals only to gratifie an accessional Auditory, that had not prayed with him, in his own, (the difference between them I shall make appear by and by) and his more charitable opinion of me, than to believe, I affected any thing, in matter or form, that tended toward any wilful opposition, or humorous disparity, in that I conformed, all I could, to what was practised in his Quire, to which alone I had regard, not concerning my self with what his Lordship suffered (perhaps not commanded) in the Nave of his Church, before his mixt assembly could be well settled, and the Preacher pass from a greater distance to ascend the Pulpit. For the *Psalms* in prose were alternately Said with us, as they were ~~Sung~~ in his Quire, and might have been

been *Sung* so too, if my people were so well inclined to learn those Tunes, as they were industrious to retrieve the other. And, if I may not be bold to say, what was taken up by Custom in the *Arche*, or body, of this Cathedral had not been *Usus Sarrum* from the beginning of the Reformation; I would affirm, *unlicensed*, that if I did the same in my Church, between the Lessons, or Services, first, and second, as my ignorant people fondly required, I should then, indeed do little less than erect an Altar against Altar, Meeter against Prose, a lewd Chant against a solemn Harmony, both in matter and form, opposite, for I heard of no such practice in the Quire of his Lordships Cathedral nor any other. Which difference between Quire and Naves, in the present case, being overlooked, or inobserved, by his Lordship, exempted me from censure, and justified my aversion from acting any thing, so contrary to the Rubrick, in our Common-Prayer Book, at my urging which inadvertent, if so be I may call it, his Lordship seeming to be somewhat
 a slow and to be so I consider
 again

surprized, my Lord of *London* immediately started up from the Couch, and, laying his hand gently on my Shoulder, said, as if he meant it in good earnest, *Hold thine own, man*; which I was willing to interpret his award in the case, or determination of the question laid, and fairly discoursed, before his Lordship. Which so happily ended, I heard no more from my Reverend *Diocesan* about it.

But from his very worthy successor some further swasive importunity I sustained, and more yet from his learned Chancellour, Sir *William Turner*, with the annex of a very plausible and tempting promise, "That if I would comply with my Parishioners in these two particulars, 1. Singing the vulgar *Psalms*, as turned into Meeter; 2. Reading the Communion-Service in the Desk, and not go up into the Chancel, he would see, that the most contentious of them all should pay me, peaceably, the full due of my Tythes, without trouble, or suit at Law, which otherwise, he foresaw, I would not be able to get in without charge and disturbance. I understood, Sir, well enough,

nough, how much his affectual assistance might contribute to my Peace and Profit, yet was loth to purchase it at so dear a rate, as the forfeiture of my observance, or forbearance of my duty to the express order of the Church; but, his power being great, if he would issue out from his Court a countermand to my Curate, and I found him influenced by it, when I came down into the Countrey (for we were then in *London*) I would not discontinue what practice my Curate had entered on by his order, but leave the burthen of prætercanonical, or præter-rubrical, acting in the Offices of the Church on him who was better able to answer it than my self.

So far was Sir *William* from taking offence at this my freedom, or becalmed by it, with the vindication of my title to some Tythes injuriously detained, that being afterward entertained by me as my Advocate in the *Arches*, notwithstanding potent opposition, made upon a false and frivolous suggestion, over facilely hearkened to, he, by argument of Law, and skilful Meisnage,

blame

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carried

carried my cause on to the period of
 being in readiness for a sentence, which
 the Dean of the *Arches* openly declar-
 ed he thought in justice, and equity, to
 pronounce on my part, and had done
 it if a prohibition had not issued from
 above, which traversed the cause to
 another Judicatory (where it was skil-
 fully pleaded in my behalf by the late
 Lord Chief Justice *Saunders*) at which
 Sir *William* was so much concerned,
 that having some Books and Papers
 in his hand, he threw them down
 with great indignation in the midst of
 the Court, saying somewhat resolutely
 to this purpose, If so just a cause as
 this must be wrested from us, after a
 fair hearing, and sentence ready to be
 pronounced for us, I will never act
 here in *causa decimarum* more. And, I
 think, he was so good as his word to
 his dying day. *Tome* of this
 Sir, at the next occasion of my
 waiting upon his Principal, the Right
 Reverend Bishop *Earley*, though my
 business with him, at that time, was
 of a different nature, yet I could not
 escape a rubbing up of the old sore, a
 mild

mild reprehension for my outing, or
 disusing, the Singing *Psalm*, to whom
 when I had made the like reply as for-
 merly, I found, it necessary to pro-
 duce the copy of this very Letter of
 the Reverend Dean's, with whom his
 Lordship had been so intimate abroad
 in exile, as I might reasonably suppose
 this argument, among many other re-
 lating to our publick practices in the
 Church, had not escaped their discus-
 sion in private converse: Having read it
 over, and returned the paper to my
 hand; he said thus in short, "I do not
 question this writing to be other than
 what you affirm it; but whatsoever
 was the Bishops opinion then (for a
 great Bishop was the Dean become
 after his Majesties return) I am sure
 he is now of another mind in the par-
 ticular of Singing *Psalm*; I cannot
 help that, my Lord, said I, nor can I
 change the opinion I was confirmed
 in chiefly by this authority under his
 own hand (which I have to shew)
 until our Church doth change her
 Rubrick, or I may be otherwise con-
 vinced. Soon after this I departed

fairly, and enjoyed my freedom,
 Sir, If my Lord of D's change of
 his opinion should seem, to invali-
 date what before, the Dean of P. had
 not only declared, but freely argued,
 in *Scriptu*, to the contrary, in the
 fairest construction it may pass but
 for an instance of the greater mode-
 ration his Lordship condescended to,
 and indulgence he yielded toward the
Presbyterian party in his later days,
 upon better hopes, perhaps, of a
 friendly accommodation in greater mat-
 ters than hath been yet, or, in like-
 lihood, ever will be effected. And
 somewhat the less may I value it in
 the argument I am upon, since the
 sense of our University therein hath
 been manifested, to the disparagement
 of those ill Paraphrased *Psalms* in Me-
 tre, by suppressing the use of them in
 St. Mary's Church, where so many
 years they had been tolerated to at-
 tend the publick Preacher, though not
 without the dislike and dissatisfaction
 of many Reverend and Judicious per-
 sons, most addicted to exact order,
 which they knew, by that Puritan-
 nical

nical custome, to have been notoriously infringed, and the Authority of our Reformed Church scandalously affronted: Whereas if the generality of our ~~hereticks~~ people were not carried away more by custom than guided by reason or common-sense, the profane Hymns might be without reluctance, restored to their primitive harmony in our service, and thereby sincere devotion exalted throughout all our Assemblies without design.

Sir, I hope no such rash reflections upon the Reverend Personages I was fain to name, have passed my Pen, as may require your censure of my indiscretion, or ill-nature, whom I know to be more ingenuous than to pervert plain dealing into a libellous Satyr; of what other men do, with more severity, I must stand the hazard: They that are not of my opinion, (who account no man injur'd, by having his own sentiments, when first made publick by himself, returned upon him) may enjoy the priviledge of a more strict reserve, and chastise me, as they please, with the discipline of my own making.

making. As for them that will be angry, because I vindicate my self from what undeservedly has been imputed to me, let them be angry still, for you preserve a kinder character for,

SIR,

Your Obedt.

R. L. WATSON

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